

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-11 EUR-12 ARA-06 ACDA-05 AID-05

DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 /095 W

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R 061616Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8943

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0984

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, UG, CV, CT, LI, US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT TOLBERT ON THE ANGOLA SITUATION

REF: (A) MONROVIA 0775, (B) MONROVIA 0811

1. SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS ANGOLA PORTION OF SPEECH PRESIDENT TOLBERT PREPARED BUT DID NOT GIVE ON HIS RETURN FROM UGANDA JANUARY 29. CONTRAST BETWEEN WHAT HE DID SAY AND WHAT HE HAD PLANNED TO SAY CONFIRMS EMBASSY IN ITS BELIEF THAT TOLBERT WAS THEN DISCUSSING ANGOLA IN GENERAL WHAT'S-GOOD-FOR-AFRICA TERMS, RATHER THAN IN HIS PREVIOUS PRO-RECONCILIATION FORMULATIONS, SEEMINGLY TO LEAVE HIMSELF ROOM FOR MANEUVER SHOULD PRO-MPLA BECOME PREDOMINANT IN OAU. END SUMMARY.

2. AS REPORTED MONROVIA 0775 (NOTAL), PRESIDENT TOLBERT CASE ASIDE PREPARED SPEECH HE INTENDED TO GIVE ON HIS RETURN JANUARY 29 FROM HIS VISIT TO KAMPALA AND SPOKE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY. HIGHLIGHT OF HIS REMARKS WAS A HIGHLY-EMOTIONAL SECTION ON ANGOLA THAT DID NOT REPEAT HIS INSISTENCE ON A GOVERNMENT COMPOSED OF ALL FACTIONS. EMBASSY HAS NOW OBTAINED COPY OF SPEECH PRESIDENT HAD AT FIRST INTENDED TO READ. FOLLOWING IN ITS ENTIRETY IS HIS TREATMENT THEREIN OF ANGOLA SITUATION.

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3. BEGIN TEXT. THE MAJOR EVENT COMMENORATING PRESIDENT AMIN'S COMING TO POWER HAVING BEEN PAST, WE BEGAN TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE ENORMOUS BENEFITS WHICH COULD BE DERIVED FROM OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH MY OTHER THREE BROTHERS, PARTICULARLY IN RESPECT OF THE TROUBLED ANGOLAN SITUATION AND ESCALATING POTENTIAL IT HOLDS FOR AFFECTING NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND AFRICA AS A WHOLE. WE JUDGED IT TIMELY TO INITIATE SUCH MEASURES AS COULD MILITATE AGAINST THE THREAT TO THE PACE AND SECURITY OF OUR BELOVED CONTINENT AND THE GLOBE. IT HAD EVEN BEEN OUR INTENTION TO PROCEED TO THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE DURING OUR RETURN TRIP HOME FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXPLORING WITH OUR FRIEND AND BROTHER, PRESIDENT MOBUTU, THE PRESSING ISSUES OF CONTINUING PEACE IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. FORTUNATELY, WITH THE VISIT OF THE ZAIRIAN PRESIDENT IN UGANDA, WE WERE ABLE TO HOLD INFORMATIVE MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS IN KAMPALA. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WHICH HAS JUST BEEN READ TO YOU BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS A RESULT OF THOSE MEETINGS. END TEXT. (IN PUBLIC UTTERANCES TOLBERT IS WONT TO USE ROYAL "WE", AS HE DOES HERE.)

4. AT DIFFERENT PLACES IN HIS UNGIVEN SPEECH PRESIDENT TOLBERT MADE OBLIQUE REFERENCES TO ANGOLA SITUATION. FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID HE HAD GONE TO UGANDA "IN CONSIDERATION OF HIS (AMIN'S) EARNEST EFFORTS FOR AFRICAN PEACE AND SOLIDARITY, AND DESIRING TO FURTHER OUR (I.E. "MY") POLICIES OF CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS ON THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD." AGAIN, PRAISING AMIN AS A "GREAT SON OF AFRICA", PRESIDENT TOLBERT NOTED THAT AMIN "IS COMMITTED TO A UNITED AFRICA, WHERE PEACE AND PROSPERITY MUST PREVAIL."

5. COMMENT. CONTRAST BETWEEN WHAT TOLBERT SAID AND WHAT HE HAD PLANNED TO SAY IS STRIKING, AND PROVIDES A GAUGE OF HIS EMOTIONAL STATE AT TIME. EMBASSY CONSIDERS THAT ORIGINAL VERSION OF ANGOLA PORTION OF REMARKS IS CONSISTENT WITH, AND IN FACT TENDS TO SUBSTANTIATE, EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT THAT AT TIME OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S RETURN FROM UGANDA HIS WORDS ON ANGOLA WERE BEING CAREFULLY COUCHED INTERMS TO ALLOW HIMSELF SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER.  
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